

Sixth Edition,
REVISED AND ENLARGED WITH NOTES,
BY THE AUTHOR.

Orange Vindicated,
IN A
REPLY
TO
THEOBALD M'KENNA, Esq.
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
NEW AND FURTHER CLAIMS
OF THE
CATHOLICS,
AS AFFECTING THE
CONSTITUTION AND THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT.

A NEW EDITION.

*Pars Hominum vitiis gaudet constanter, et urget
Propositum.*

DUBLIN:
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P R E F A C E.

I THINK it necessary to premise that the following work does not contain any arguments for or against an Union ; that subject has been already so copiously and prematurely discussed, as to become worn out and trite, even before the question is known, or has been propounded : So that we may find the common adage inverted, and see a *new* friend with an *old* face.

The Memoire of Mr. M'Kenna, under the pretext of treating of some questions respecting the Union, is, in reality, a Catholic manifesto, denouncing the Orangemen as enemies to the Catholic cause, monopolists and disturbers of the public peace. The gauntlet thrown down with such fierce defiance, I have taken up. The



object of these sheets is, to refute these weighty charges, and rebut the slander, by stating the principles, conduct, and relative situation of the Protestants and Catholics in this kingdom, with some strictures on the new and unwarrantable pretensions of the latter. The reader need not search for any underplot or ambiguity—there is none such. I have endeavoured, without aiming at what is called composition, to express myself in the most plain and intelligible language, and that degree of seriousness, which subjects of great national concern demand, though it has lately been the fashion to treat them with farcical buffoonery, and grinning levity. How far I have succeeded, the public will judge.

A LETTER,



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LETTER,

&c. &c.

SIR,

TAKING up a pamphlet bearing your name on its title page, and purporting to be A Memoire on The Projected Union, I expected to find that subject generally discussed; and from former proofs of your ability as a writer, I deduced hopes of receiving some new lights on that important question. Under this impression I travelled with you to your 16th page, not without some approbation and pleasure, when, to my great surprise and disappointment, your real plot opened, and I discovered that the scope and tendency of your Memoire, however ushered in and masked under the most plausible introductory pretensions, was neither more or less than to make a most gross and audacious attack on the principles and conduct of the loyal Protestants of Ireland; and in this, again, you display an address truly Jesuitical: You are an avowed Catholic advocate, and it might be expected that you should rest

rest their cause, in some degree, on their merits as a body, their obedience to the laws, their public virtue, their morality, or their loyalty; but no! you wisely desert those grounds as not tenable; and instead of defending your own, you boldly attack what you consider an enemy's position, vainly hoping, by calumniating the Protestants, to serve and forward the cause of the Catholics.

You at once roundly assert, that Ireland can never be settled by domestic means—and why? Because the loyal Protestants of Ireland have dared to form associations for the defence and support of the constitution and their religion; and because they have also dared, in defiance of rebellion and popery, to wear openly an Orange ribband, as a badge, or symbol, of their association. Though not an old man, I recollect the time when a publication, such as yours, would have been considered a species of treason against the constitution, and would have subjected the writer to exemplary punishment; but now, thanks to the liberality, as it is termed, but in reality to the profligate apathy of the present day, any public concern of morality, virtue, or religion, may be safely invaded, and men are only to be roused by trenching on their private and paltry interests.

The best refutation I can offer to your false and scandalous libel, is to tell you, who and what those Orangemen, whom you revile, are, which you may possibly not thoroughly know, though I suspect there is much of pretended ignorance, affected terror, and wilful perversion, among those of your sect, in regard to the Orange institution. The exposition of the origin and principles of the Orange association, will necessarily lead me to a discussion of the principles and views of the Catholics, their merits, and their claims, and the dreadful consequences which



which must inevitably ensue, should fate, or our madness, ever grant to them full means of obtaining political power; I shall afterwards, Sir, advert to some of your assertions and positions, in such order as they occur; and in so doing, I shall sedulously avoid any opinion or discussion on the question of the projected Union, and solely confine myself to remarks, on what you have advanced against the Orange societies, and in favour of the Catholics and their pretensions.

The name of Orangemen was first adopted by some Protestants in the county of Armagh, at a time when the jealousies excited by the exercise of the portion of political power, newly granted to the Catholics, had unfortunately broke out, in open hostility, and mutual outrages, and after the violence of those feuds had ceased, Orange^{*} associations still continued, and spread over many parts of the province of Ulster. In the year 1797, when the system of the United Irishmen had attained a great degree of maturity, and was every day threatening open rebellion, and when the Catholics, little grateful for past favours, demanded new concessions, amounting

* The facts are: The Catholics of Ulster generally, but of Armagh in particular, had been very diligent in procuring arms, about the beginning of 1791, and appeared to prepare for insurrection. It seems they had determined (in case of the rejection of the claims they had preferred, and which were then pending) to seek redress by arms—the privileges they soon after obtained, suspended their hostile projects. Every one knows how invidious and degrading to the Protestant body of Ireland, the manner of the grant of those immunities was. The Protestants of Armagh in the beginning of 1794, jealous of the newly privileged Catholics, began to disarm them.—The Catholics resisted, and several conflicts took place. In September 1795, a treaty of peace was solemnly entered into between the contending parties—but shortly after, the Catholics broke this treaty, by treacherously attacking, with very superior numbers, the

amounting to a surrender of the constitution, under the fantastical name of Catholic emancipation, which stood foremost among the postulata of the rebels, then, I say, at that dangerous crisis, a plan was formed and executed, of transplanting the Orange association from the North to the metropolis, and by regulating and improving the system, and placing at its head men of higher rank and talent, to convert to the support of the Throne and the Constitution; an institution, which, from the nature of its origin and formation, might have degenerated into a ferocious spirit of persecution. This plan was the more beneficial and laudable, as any attempt to crush the association in the place of its origin, would have been highly dangerous and impolitic; and therefore it was wise and expedient to direct the motions and progress of a machine, which could not, with safety, be stopped. The detaching the Presbyterians from the Union, as it was then called, was also a strong motive. The publication of the principles of the institution, soon became necessary to refute the various

the unsuspecting Protestants. The Catholics, though in the proportion of near ten to one, were defeated with the loss of 48 men laid dead on the spot, and many wounded—the battle was called the battle of the Diamond, and in commemoration of it, the first Orange Lodge was founded on the 21st of September, 1795, the name of Orangemen had been adopted a year before. The Protestants, indignant at the treachery of the Catholics, proceeded to expel them by fire and sword from the country, and many of them were obliged to take refuge in Connaught.—This statement fully refutes the malicious, false, and ridiculous assertion, “*that the disturbance of this kingdom was caused by the Orangemen*,” who did not at all exist under that name, until the rebellion was fully organised, or whose societies had not become general, until the very eve of actual insurrection. In the same manner, I have heard Lord Camden accused of being the author of the rebellion of 1798, though he had never been in Ireland before March, 1795, when the plan of insurrection had almost reached maturity.—Thus, impudent falsehoods meet detection and contempt.

various falsehoods and calumnies levelled with unceasing malice against the Orangemen.—Many enrolled themselves in the association, in consequence of the decided part the Catholics then began openly to take in the impending rebellion, and I am convinced that many persons were preserved firm in their allegiance, from the support and example of these societies, who, had they not found such a refuge, would have been betrayed by their fears into the society of the Union. I refer to the * declaration of the Orange principles, and I do declare as an Orangeman, that in that declaration the principles of the institution have been fully and wholly set forth without equivocation or reservation†. Now, I say, that the Orangemen of Ireland, as at present constituted, are merely loyal Protestants, associated and bound together, under no new or unknown principles, but solely for the purpose of keeping in memory, supporting and defending the Laws, Constitution, and Religion, as established by the great King William at the glorious Revolution, and reviving, by a fresh obligation, their sense of a solemn and sacred duty, and their determination, as far as in them lies, to perform that duty, namely, that of transmitting unimpaired to their children, that Constitution, in Church and State, which they received as a most precious gift, and deposit, from the hands, and cemented with the blood of their fathers. It hence follows, that every true and loyal Protestant, though he has not formally renewed such his duty, by any fresh obligation, is virtually and morally bound by the same

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* See Appendix, No. 1.

† As an instance that the Orangemen of Ireland act according to their declaration, I refer to Appendix, No. 2. The subscriptions then raised, were principally for the use of the brave Limerick regiment, all Catholics.

ties and principles as a sworn Orangeman. I do assert, that the circumstances of the times called for some new spur, some further test, some fresh pledge of mutual assistance, and of energy in the support and defence of our laws, our religion, our persons, and our properties*—for there is nothing more certain, than that they are bound in one sheaf, and should the band once be loosened, all will be scattered, trodden under foot, dissipated and lost. We were assailed at once by the whole host of French principles, their spurious liberty, and mock equality, the rights of man, republican fanaticism, the rage of political innovation, and the monstrous union of atheism and superstition—all these had to work on a divided and discontented nation, the

* Independent of the comparative security against treason and rebellion, which the loyal Protestants of Ireland have gained, by the establishment and universality of the Orange association, other advantages are to be expected from such a consolidation of the Protestant body and interest, should a miserable and short-sighted state policy, or state party, ever again aim at the surrender and overthrow of our Religion and Constitution, and the sacrifice of those solid and inestimable blessings, without which we can have no safety; should any person I say, be found weak or wicked enough to tamper with the vital and fundamental principle of our glorious constitution, subjecting them to the experiments of shallow quackery, or the dastardly system of wretched, trembling, cowardly, temporary expediency, throwing the augmented mischief with ruinous weight on futurity, should these evils again threaten, the Protestant body will have a rallying point, an organization sufficiently cohesive, consistent and energetic, to ensure the preservation of its rights, its privileges, its properties, its existence.—Whensoever this struggle may occur, the Protestants of England and Scotland cannot, (if they consult their own interests) be deaf to the cries of their brethren in Ireland, when they call to them for aid—and the Irish Protestants will call. Had the Orange association existed in 1793, as it now does, the Protestants of Ireland would not then have been made the shuttlecocks of the Minister, or held up to their enemies in the contemptible and
invidious

the majority of which considered the Constitution and Government as a foreign usurpation, and the established Religion an impious and damnable heresy; * but more dangerous than all, many among ourselves began to be affected by a strange apathy, and luke-warmness, towards things formerly considered as claiming our warmest interest and attachment. I hope, and believe, that the Orange institution has given to us an animating and seasonable impulse, and has tended to rouse us to a sense of our danger, and our duties—nothing leads me more strongly to this belief, than the hatred, abuse, and fear, manifested by the people of a certain description, against an association which they seem to consider as a bulwark, interposed between them and the temple of the Constitution, which they seek to enter for the purpose of violating. I do, Sir, most positively deny your assertion, that the Orange body laments that immunities have been granted to the Catholics, or denies them further concessions for the purpose, or on the principle of securing to themselves a selfish pre-eminence over their fellow-subjects. On the contrary, the Orangemen have viewed, with pleasure, every indulgence

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granted

invidious point of view, which at the same time augmented antipathy, and invited hostility.—I do not mean to say, that concessions ought never to have been made to the Catholics, or even ought not to have been then made, but I object to the little respect shewn to the Protestants, their interests, or their sentiments, to the inconsiderate levity which urged them to a committal of those sentiments, and to the caprice which subjected them to the imputation of a cowardly dereliction, of a rash and impudent resolve.—In short, I object to the manner of the grant. To this, much of the subsequent misery of Ireland may be referred.—A boon graciously conferred, tends to conciliation; but concessions extorted, lead to further and more exorbitant pretensions. Hence the favourite maxim of the Catholics, “that nothing could be gained by a negotiation, but every thing by demand.”

* As a proof of this, see the Appendix, No. 3.

granted to the Catholics, whereby they have been rendered more secure in their persons and properties, and the free exercise of worshipping God in any manner they please; but we deprecate and oppose the granting political power to Catholics, who, we are convinced, must ever direct that power unceasingly, and always to the destruction and overthrow of our religion, and the establishment of their own; and this they never could hope to effect otherwise, than by a separation from England, and a total change of the Constitution. It is impossible that any Catholic could honestly and zealously administer the affairs of a Protestant state—and if we were even content to share every thing with them, and give up all establishment and pre-eminence, they would cease to be Catholics, if they did not perseveringly aim at supremacy, and the paramount establishment of the Popish religion. Catholics could not be content to share equal power with heretics, all civil interests must be overlooked; the advancement of the holy church, is with them an obligation which must take place of all others.—* The most sacred engagements, if contrary to, or not coinciding with the interests of their church, are by that church dissolved, and declared void.

If we wished to enter into such a contract with them, it could not be; they are incapable of so contracting; they are not free agents; there is no reciprocal tie, pledge, or security—individuals might be inclined to keep good faith; but there is an absolute controuling power, which issues its mandates

* All civil obligations are enforced and secured directly or indirectly, by the interposition of religious ties. Morality not established on religion, is vague and insufficient, a *fortiori*—what mischief may be expected to arise, should religion be at variance with morality, as might be the case, in the instance of a Catholic administering the public affairs of Ireland, a Protestant state.

mandates and enforces obedience, wielding Heaven and Hell in either hand. We could not expect security on the score of gratitude. Their first success would be ascribed to God's direct interference in favour of the holy church; it would be considered impious, not to improve so fortunate a beginning, and as they would look on as demented and devoted victims. It may be asked on what grounds I rest my assertions? My answer is—on the principles, sacred and political, character, spirit, and acts of the Romish church, its pastors and votaries, as handed down to us by history, from early ages to the present time; and these principles, as the Catholic theologians themselves tell us, can never change. Dr. Hufsey, the titular bishop of Waterford, tells us, in his pastoral letter, “that the Catholic faith is suitable to all climes, ages, and forms of government—* and that it is immutable.” The foulest atrocities ever yet perpetrated under the directing superstition of the Romish church, in the most remote ages, are at this day defended and supported by the writings of the Catholic divines, as infallibly just and † right—the church cannot err. Into this abyss, morality, charity, truth, mercy,

* The pains taken by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, in their late publications, to shew that the Popish religion is not incompatible with republicanism, has been much and deservedly remarked.

† As an example among several others, I refer to a pamphlet published in London in the year 1795, printed for Coghlan, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, by the Rev. John Milner, a Popish Priest, and entitled, “A Reply to the Report published by the Cisalpine Club, on the authenticity of the Protestation at the British Museum, &c. &c. in which the horrid massacre of the Waldenses in the 13th century, is not only justified, but mentioned as an act of piety and exalted faith. One million of people were murdered, because they did not adhere to all the Popish tenets and ceremonies—and that under a commission from his Holiness the Pope.

mercy, and all the virtues are precipitated and lost. Every vice becomes a virtue, when exercised to promote the interests of the holy religion. It would be disgusting to trace this truth through all the horrors, cruelties, plots, and massacres, which the page of history has recorded. I have been told by some of the liberal enlightened men of the day, that they could, in every instance, ascribe these circumstances, as they termed them, to political motives, and a train of leading events. Let me tell these enlightened philosophers, that there must be some predisposing cause, to rouse to action each latent and inherent vice or passion, whether natural or acquired. The most ferocious and passionate man may be quiet occasionally, when not provoked; but should he rise in rage, and slay his brother, you might as well say, that it was not owing to his ferocity or passion, the accident being ascribable to the leading event of the deceased having trod on the toe of the passionate man, which happened to be tender. I do not find any record in history of any other sect, save the Catholics, having persecuted and massacred their fellow-christians, to promote the interests or tenets of their own particular church; and it is very unfortunate that those leading events have exclusively urged the Catholics to religious massacres and cruelties.

The Catholics in different climes, and in different ages, could not possibly, as a body, have similar natural propensities to cruelty, they are, and must be, like all other men, good and bad; it therefore follows, that those enormities *can only be* ascribed to the pernicious and intolerant system and doctrines of the Popish superstition.—* I think I have estab-

lished

* In corroboration, I give the following extract from a decree of the 4th Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215—such decrees are, by the Romish church, held to be infallible and irreversible:—

“ Heretics

lished my grounds on the best possible foundation, proof deduced from facts recorded, and open to the research of every one. That the Romish church has lost nothing of its principles, character, influence or effect in this kingdom, the horrible transactions in Wexford, and indeed in almost all the disturbed counties, during the late rebellion, afford melancholy proofs.—* The Popedom is overthrown, but the Papal spirit still pervades the world, the Papal genius never sleeps, it is always watchful, enterprising, encroaching, insatiable, wherever it gains any power or footing, it never rests whilst there is any thing remaining to be had, it must have all. It is that encroaching spirit we have to dread, and

“ Heretics to be exterminated by the sword, and their properties confiscated. All secular powers obliged to bind themselves by an oath to extirpate heretics—any temporal Prince refusing to do so, to be excommunicated, and deprived of his dominions. All Catholics taking up arms to extirpate heretics, shall have eternal salvation.—The Romish Bishops are enjoined on oath, on their inauguration, binding them to promote and enlarge the authority of their Lord the Pope, and to impugn and persecute all heretics.”—Such being the theory, we cannot wonder at the practice.

* To shew the spirit which influenced the Catholics during the rebellion, I transcribe the following notice, which was posted on the churches of Westmeath and Longford in August last, when the Papists of those counties rose to co-operate with the French troops under Humbert, who were then traversing the country:—

“ Take notice, *heretics, usurpers*, that the brave slaves of this Island will no longer lie in bondage—the die is thrown—our deliverers are come—and the Royal Brute who held the iron rod of despotic tyranny is expiring—nor shall *one* govern—*Our holy old religion* shall be re-established in *this house*, and the earth shall no longer be burthened with *bloody heretics*, who, under the pretence of rebellion, which they themselves have raised, mean to massacre us.—Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!

The Flower De Luce and Harp we will display,
While tyrant heretics shall mould to clay!

and guard against. I remember that a few years ago, the Catholics of this kingdom declared, they would be fully satisfied with the grant of certain privileges—and obtaining those, they would never ask further—they have since obtained all and more than they then required, and now they advance new claims. So it would be *ad infinitum*, until all power were exclusively their own. It has always been a principle of the Romish church, not to be scrupulous about the means, provided the end was the advancement of the holy religion; a strict adherence to this practice, has been strongly exemplified by the Irish Catholics, who first leagued themselves with the Presbyterians, a sect of Protestants, whom they always have detested more than those of the established church, and then called into their aid the atheistical legions of France; the overthrow of a bad government, reform and republicanism, were then the avowed objects of this heterogeneous confederacy; but it is well known, that an underplot was formed by the Catholics, who being the majority, hoped when the government was extinguished, that they, the rightful inheritors, should repossess the usurped lands, * and that

* It seems to be a principle of the Popish faith, that Catholics may and ought to drive out heretics from any lands or possessions, and that they have a full right to hold and enjoy such lands so dispossessed—and on the other hand, that no time can sanction the title of an heretic, to lands which had ever at any time belonged to Catholics. All the countries of Europe have often changed their masters and possessors. The Welsh, or Ancient Britons, have as good a claim to the greater part of the lands of England, as the native Irish have to those of Ireland; but the claim of the Welsh, unsupported by Catholicism, was soon forgotten, that of the Irish has been sedulously continued. We ought not to forget the map of the ancient Catholic holdings, advertised for the inspection of those concerned, a few months prior to the breaking out of the rebellion.—The maxim that

Nullum tempus occurrit ecclesie

seems to be with the Romanists, as well established as the maxim of our law is with us, that—

Nullum tempus occurrit regi.

that they should be able to restore their old and holy religion to its ancient supremacy. I think the Protestants of Ireland having these records, and this experience before them, must be strangely infatuated indeed, should they hesitate a moment to refuse a participation of power to the Catholics, who would, as I have shewn, use that power to the subversion of our Constitution and establishment. And for these reasons, and not from the motives, which you, Sir, have been pleased to ascribe to us, do the Orangemen of Ireland oppose the grant of further immunities to the Catholics. I do lament it as a great misfortune, that the State cannot, with safety to its existence, command and profit by the entire attachment, energy, and services of so many of its subjects; would to God it were otherwise! every individual in the kingdom would then gain additional security to his rights and property, Ireland would become a nation, and the empire would be strengthened. If any men, or body of men, should from low or selfish views, oppose so great a general good, I should be the first to pronounce them enemies to their own interests, and those of their country.

But circumstanced as things now are, and indeed until some great change shall happen, every true Protestant in both kingdoms is bound on the principle of self-preservation, as well as duty, to resist further grants to the Catholics. The all-directing Providence may, in his own good time, cause these things to cease, and may allow us to become brothers, and one people. As yet, the prospect is hid from us, certainly for wise purposes; but God has, within the last few years, ordained great changes in the world, and he has the power of effecting greater. We are told, that we shall all yet be members of one and the same pure and holy

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religion,

religion, it would be presumptuous to guess what that system may be, revelation and a chain of events corresponding to that revelation, almost clearly indicate, that it cannot be the Romish—nor do I at all suppose, that our Reformed Church has yet reached such a degree of perfection, as to become the standard. But whatever it may be, coming from him, it must be right and good; and he may exalt the most humble, and put down the proud. Thus far, I have endeavoured to state with as much fairness and truth as possible, the relative situation and principles of the Protestants and Catholics in this unhappy country, and I most solemnly declare that in doing this, I have not been actuated by animosity or ill-will.—* I did conceive myself bound to refute a most audacious calumny aimed at the Orangemen of Ireland. The defence and support of my own principles and those of my brethren, against malicious misrepresentation, required that I should not hesitate to speak truths, which pained me in the writing, and always have pained me when my thoughts have rested on them—when every thing dear to us is at stake, a cautious delicacy would be weak and criminal. I do consider my Catholic countrymen as, by nature, endued with the same feelings, virtues, and passions, as we are; and I do proudly think that the natives of this isle in general, are not in natural endowments inferior to any nation

* The contents and spirit of this work may appear to some, as a violation of a recognized principle of the Orange institution, viz. "not to upbraid any person on account of religious opinions;" my answer is, that this principle can be only considered as extending to wanton and unnecessary upbraiding, and cannot be construed as precluding vindication, or as establishing a system of acquiescence under malignant accusations. Self-preservation and defence, are natural unalienable rights: the aggressor is alone answerable for consequences.

nation in the world ; but I do lament that so many of my fellow-subjects have been so long enslaved by the tyranny of a superstition, which had unfortunately too many collateral aids, which it has made use of to continue the division and separation of a people, whose mutual interests ought long ago to have made them one. I lament this most sincerely, and I do say to the Catholic body of Ireland, that the attainment of the concessions which you seem so eagerly to seek, would in all probability prove to be the greatest evil which could befall you, it would ruin us, yourselves, and our country ; your priests and bigots would never give peace to you or us : their restlessness, superstition, and ambition, would always embark you in new enterprizes, until Great Britain would be obliged to conquer this island again, * or submit to its separation from the empire : Without the intervention of foreign aid, the contest could not be long doubtful, and should even a separation for a time be effected by strong foreign assistance, it could not be continued but by giving an establishment to your ally, which must end in your subjugation ; in either case, Ireland would become the scene of bloody and destructive wars, and exhausted, wasted, and desolated, would prove a barren compensation to the victors. Humanity shudders at such a frightful prospect.

And now, Sir, suffer me to advert to some passages of your Memoire, as you are pleased to term it—really if you had not given it a name, I should have been much at a loss how to refer it ; I should have classed it among the non-descripts. You discover

* Should such a necessity ever occur, no true loyal Irish Protestant could hesitate a moment to join the standard of his King against rebels, hating his government, resisting his authority, and, to sum up all, leaguings with his and our inveterate foreign enemy.

ver to us pretty clearly in your 15th and 16th pages, that the Catholics would consider it as a grievance left unredressed, and that the plan of the Union could not be complete, without the admission of the Catholics to full political power and privileges, and consequently to seats in the Imperial legislature; this, though not expressed in direct words, is strongly insinuated, but all doubt of your meaning is removed by subsequent parts of your Memoire, particularly in your 35th page. On the first reading, the audacity of the pretensions astonished me, as much as the Jesuitical slyness under which they are introduced provoked me.

I always did feel it as the strongest inducement and argument in favour of an Union—that thereby the Protestant interest would be consolidated, and our establishment secured from encroachment; that the Catholics of Ireland would necessarily sit down in acquiescence, the object of their wishes being placed beyond their reach; but it seems I had yet a lesson to learn, and further experience to gain, of the insatiability, perseverance and encroachment of the Papal sect and genius.

Some of the best and wisest men of England have of late expressed in their speeches and writings, apprehensions of the plots and restless spirit of Popery, even in regard to England, where its power and influence is comparatively small; this new aim at encroachment, proves that their fears have not been vain; it also shews a co-operation between the English and Irish Catholics; such discoveries may rouse the common sense of both countries.

From your 19th page I transcribe this sentence: "*The Government in combination with a part of the people, may, so far as physical force confers authority, impose restrictions on the Catholics; but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children.*" This is the most

most laboured and pompous scrap of nonsense I have ever met with. I will construe this curious morceau, and illustrate its blundering absurdity.—Government, you say, combined with a part of the people, the majority, meaning the Protestants—form the physical force of the country—and may, so far as that physical force confers authority, impose restrictions on the Catholics, the majority—who by your antithesis, must necessarily be considered as forming the artificial force of the country—but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children. I need scarce point out to any reader, that a minority governing a country, must be termed an artificial force—and that numbers constitute *physical* or *natural* force—and this from the learned Catholic advocate, Mr. M'Kenna. Pray, sir, was your understanding lost in your religious zeal—or bewildered in the labyrinth of your own subtlety? or did you wish, by simulating a confusion of ideas, to prevent any mistake, as to your being legitimately an Irishman? But let me rescue this passage from the confusion which envelops it, and give it the only meaning to which it can be reconciled—it is a sort of oracular prediction, and it would be a pity to have it misunderstood or lost.—

Talibus ex ady to dictis Cumceæ Sibyllæ,
Horrendas canit ambages, autroque remugit
Obscuris vera involvens.

Let me interpret it thus: Government and the Protestants may, for a time, oppress and restrict the Catholics, but they will not acquiesce; they will be always ready, on every opportunity to rebel against an usurping and unnatural Government, and to assert that superiority in this kingdom, which they claim from God and nature. Analogy may

may serve to explain further.—Bishop Husley, in his pastoral letter, page 10, “*The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours.*”—* If my explanation of the sentence extracted from your Memoire is right, I will leave it to the reader, whether most to admire at the absurdity of the composition, or the wicked bigotry of the sentiment.

In a note to your 20th page, you say, “*What numbers during the late disturbances would not believe the evidence of their senses, that every Papist was not a rebel! How many were sadly chagrined at the propriety with which the persons of property of the Romish communion acted!*” To this I answer, that the rebellion having very soon after its commencement, assumed the appearance of an holy insurrection, being even so termed in one of the French Councils—and so many cruelties being committed by Catholics on Protestants—it is not wonderful, that generally every Papist should be suspected; and this suspicion was further increased by numberless instances of detected treachery among those Catholics who were in the military ranks—I say generally, because I should be sorry to think, that there are not individuals of that communion, who have, from a sense of honor, adhered to their allegiance and duty, as yeomen and soldiers—and where so likely to find such, as among the higher ranks?

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Notwithstanding the threats of the learned Mr. McKenna, and the polemic Bishop, I will venture to say, that if all the Protestants of Ireland would act with unanimity, they would still maintain their superiority over the Catholics, which was manifested by their ancestors.—What could mobbish numbers avail against the superior knowledge, skill, courage and resources of the Protestants? This has been so often proved, that further demonstration is unnecessary.

In your 23d page you say, "*That the penalties against Catholics ought to be repealed, if it were only to discountenance the Orange faction, by shewing the error and impotence of the association. The measure would be popular and acceptable.*" Are you serious, Mr. M'Kenna, in recommending to any administration so great an innovation, to call it no more, merely for the sake of a fretful and peevish experiment—to see how the Orangemen would look when discountenanced. Surely, you either consider the men in power as fools, or you mean to insult them. The measure of emancipation would, in your opinion, be popular and acceptable; so would the establishment of Popery in Ireland, in all its ancient tyranny, because the Catholics are the populace, and to them it would be acceptable.—Doctor M'Nevin and others have said, that Catholic emancipation, as it was called, was not an object really and seriously sought after. I think you and the Doctor are both right; and thus I reconcile the seeming contradiction. I do believe that the Catholics, who were engaged in the rebellious confederacy, before the insurrection actually took place, were very indifferent as to any concessions which could be made to them by a Protestant Parliament. They hoped soon to be masters of all, by a short and less incumbered mode—they expected to establish themselves on the ruins of our Government, Constitution, and religion. They have been vanquished and disappointed, and would now gladly accept from us that participation of political power which they before disdained, and that merely for the purpose of making the next effort with increased strength, and under better auspices. Like wise generals failing in the storm of the citadel, they wish to make a lodgment in the body of the work, and there

there cover themselves, waiting the opportunity of another assault.

In your 24th page you say, "*If every Catholic in Ireland had been a rebel, it ought to make no difference.*"

And again, "*If even such were the case, the moment of victory would be the critical time to make the concession. What might in the last year have been injudicious, as liable to be represented a pusillanimous compromise, might at this day be compliment and heroic sacrifice.*" Bravo, Sir! most excellent and high-sounding Rhodomantade! You shift your ground, and change your mode of attack with admirable dexterity. You are a very Proteus.

Dr. Hussey and you have menaced and frightened us with rocks and mountains, with dungeons and physical force. Forgetting, or pretending to forget, that the civil and religious code was introduced by the great William, moulded and blended together, forming one indivisible establishment in Church and State; you have dared to ridicule this Constitution, and by splitting its founder in two, you affect to praise one side of the hero's mutilated image, that you may defame and vilify the other, by comparing

* The excess of generosity recommended by Mr. M'Kenna, might, sub modo, be applied to a common case of rebellion, arising from popular effervescence, or entered into in support of, or resistance to a definite object, in its nature not absolutely inadmissible, or irreconcilable to the public safety. But we cannot forget that the Catholics of this kingdom have, during the late, and every foregoing insurrection, plainly manifested, that their designs fell nothing short of the total extermination of the Protestants:—Under these circumstances, concessions can only serve to strengthen not disarm rebellion—the seeds and principles of which must be, in the minds of Irish Catholics, co-existent and co-eval with the political and natural existence of Irish Protestants. No equality or participation of civil privileges can cause these evils to cease—from time only can we expect a remedy. In the interim, self-preservation demands vigilance.

paring it to John Wesley, or any other fanatic—you have endeavoured to divide the Protestants, by rousing those who are not Orangemen against those who are—and you call upon the former to make concessions to the Catholics, to spite the latter—you now cajole us, and try to persuade us, that having fought for our Constitution and Religion, and having conquered, that it would be magnanimous in the conquerors to surrender to the conquered—and having proved our courage, to give up all pretensions to sanity or common sense. It shews not strength of intellect to undervalue too much that of others. Did you, sir, imagine you were addressing fools or Quixotes? and on this ground you are at issue with the Orangemen—I think the verdict ought to be *non compos*.

Your address to the Orangemen in the next page, about espionage, is too vague in its application to be understood, and too contemptible to be answered. I suppose the word was introduced to shew your travel and foreign education—by the bye, I have always understood, that such education as our countrymen usually receive in the Jesuit Colleges abroad, peculiarly qualifies them to become adepts in the system of espionage.

You next labour to prove that the Catholics, such, had not any thing to do with the rebellion—and that the Catholic rebels were combated by Catholic militia regiments, Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, farmers, &c. It is painful and unpleasant to

• The easy versatility with which Mr. McKenna has changed his opinions, and his parties; and the good account to which he has turned his knowledge of the secret movements of adverse cabinets, may serve as an example of the peculiar benefits attending an education under masters so expert in the system alluded to.—*Carver Empter.*

to be under the necessity of renewing past grievances; but as you have provoked and challenged the detail, I must not flinch from it. In my turn I say, sir, on this ground, I am at issue with you—as to the Catholic militia soldiers, many, I am proud and happy to acknowledge, did their duty like brave men; the conduct of the Limerick regiment stands particularly conspicuous.—*Some regiments have afforded shameful and melancholy instances to the contrary. It is a delicate point—I do not wish to insist on it—I will only observe, that soldiers taken from their families, removed from their early observances and habits, and placed in a mixed society of strangers, under a strict system of subordination and obedience, must soon forget their local and religious prejudices: and the latter sooner, perhaps, than any other. I have often heard old officers say, that the Irish Catholics became the better soldiers, the further and the longer they were removed from home. I am sure, had not uncommon pains been taken to mislead them, that all the Irish militia regiments would have done their duty with fidelity and bravery. We can better form an opinion of the part the Catholics took in the late rebellion, by recurring to the conduct of the Catholic yeomen—men better educated, and of better situation than the militia soldiers—men who were, or ought to have been free agents, who took up voluntarily the arms of their Sovereign, (a Sovereign whom they had recently and publicly acknowledged as their greatest benefactor), and who bound themselves by a voluntary and solemn oath, to use those arms in his defence, and that of his government. How they fulfilled that obligation, is lamentable to consider: what a disgusting

* For the sense of gratitude which the Grange societies entertained towards the brave and loyal Catholic soldiers of the Limerick regiment, I refer to Appendix, No. 2.

disgusting picture of perfidy and perjury was disclosed shortly after the insurrection took place! I speak of the city of Dublin; it was discovered that nine-tenths of the Catholics in the yeomanry corps were United Irishmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their sworn allegiance—and that many of them, after taking the United oath, had, on a principle of deliberate and pre-determined perjury, joined yeomanry corps for the purpose of getting arms into their hands, learning the use of them, and turning them against us, perhaps in the very moment of attack. The consequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely discovery. If any of the projected nightly attacks had taken place, the loyal yeoman, roused from his bed, would have treacherously fallen by the bayonets of those whom he might

slain—D 2

* I select the following instances out of many:—In one company of the Rotunda Division Infantry, there were at the breaking out of the rebellion, in May last, twenty-two private yeomen Catholics; of these, fourteen were proved to be sworn United Irishmen, some of them deeply concerned in the plans of insurrection and massacre, six others were disarmed on suspicion of the strongest kind, so that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All these men had frequently and anxiously endeavoured to introduce several of their friends into the corps, inasmuch as to produce strong dissensions in the company. They were at last told, that no man would be ballotted for as a new member, who was not known and approved of by the Captain.

The Popish yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps, conspired to assassinate their Protestant fellow-soldiers, who were the minority of that corps.

Every one has heard of the infamous treachery of Kearney, a Popish yeoman of the Merchants' corps of Infantry, who planned the destruction of a detachment of his corps, serving as an escort to military stores and ammunition, from Dublin to Naas: he had concerted with the rebels, to draw the detachment into an ambuscade, planted in a wood a little removed from the road, but providentially the plan failed.—It is observable that this man is now at large, walking through the streets of the metropolis.

hasten to join, as friends and fellow-soldiers: It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin above two thousand Catholics were desirous of admittance into the several yeomanry corps, during the six weeks immediately preceding the insurrection—and that most of these were proposed by Catholic yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were dismissed on strong suspicion.

These facts are notorious and recent; they are open to investigation, and if not founded, may be disproved. Of the Catholic yeomen in the country, I can only speak by hearsay,* report has not been generally more favourable to them than to their brethren in the city. Can any man hesitate to what he should ascribe such shocking violation of faith and morality? You, Sir, have acknowledged that there were twenty-five priests actually and openly leaders of the rebels †—pretty well this—and of the formidable remainder,

* For proofs and statements as to the conduct of the Papists in several of the country corps of yeomanry, I refer to a pamphlet, containing a concise account of the principal incidents of the rebellion.—By *Veridicus*. “The statements I allude to, will be found in the 60th and 61st pages.—I cannot help adding, that the work of *Veridicus* is well worth the public attention: it displays a knowledge of ancient history, an accuracy, and research, which do much honor to the author.—In short, the buyer of that pamphlet gets for one shilling and sixpence (besides the statement of recent and local circumstances) historical information of an interesting and curious nature, which could not be collected but by a person of knowledge and skill, and with the labour of months.

† I have taken the number of twenty-five Romish Priests as actively concerned in the rebellion, from Mr. M’Kenna’s own calculation, merely for the sake of argument—the fact unquestionably is, that above twenty-five priests were openly and actively concerned in the rebellion in the county of Wexford alone, and nearly as many more in the county Mayo.—In the county of Wexford, fourteen priests have been killed in battle, hanged, transported, or become fugitives, in consequence of acts
done

remainder, consisting, by your calculation, of two thousand four hundred and seventy-five—how many fomented and encouraged the rebellion secretly? and were, as Doctor M'Nevin and others of the principal traitors declared, most active agents in forwarding the cause. I do conceive that the circumstance of so many as twenty-five priests acting openly as leaders of the rebels—considering the character, habits of life, and education of Romish priests, forms a strong proof of the warm interest their body at large took in the rebellion.* As to individual noblemen and gentlemen, a sense of honor might keep them true to their engagements. As I before have mentioned, such men must be averse to treachery in the field; but had matters taken a more decided turn, it would have been hard to expect, even from them, more than neutrality.

In

done during, and in furtherance of the rebellion.—For the conduct of the Bishop and the Popish clergy of Wexford in general, I refer to *Veridicus*, before quoted—I do not hesitate to say, that the rebellion is principally ascribable to the Romish clergy of Ireland—they are the living repositories, and liberal retailers of those diabolical tenets, which loosen the bonds of society, morality, and allegiance.

Were it not for the prevalence and influence of Popery in Ireland, conspiracy could not find materials wherein to work, nor could the ranks of rebellion be filled.—To illustrate this, eight hundred conspirators, Catalines, desperadoes, have been found in the metropolis of England—they probably all aimed at becoming Directors, Ministers, Generals, &c. but they had not a people to work on, and therefore they projected bringing an army of fifty thousand assassins from Ireland.—No body of Englishmen could be persuaded to enter into a deliberate system of murder—but to satisfy the Irish Papists, it was deemed sufficient that the victims, though perfect strangers and innocent as to them, were heretics. *Vide the report of the Secret Committee of the British Commons.*

* The tenets and principles of the Romish church seem to have been perverted and strained to the utmost pitch of extravagance by some of the priests, to encourage the rebels. See Appendix No. 4.

In your 29th page, you make your Catholic claimant say, "that the disqualification of which he complains, affords no additional security to the church, that its pillars are the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property." That he does not desire the aggrandisement of his fellow-religionists as a body, but that there should not be any obstacle in the way of any individual of that communion, to push to the utmost extent they are capable, the advantages of birth and fortune, talents and industry.—I do agree with Mr. McKenna, that the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property in the hands of Irish Protestants, are pillars of the church—but I do say, that by granting to the Catholics the means of acquiring full political power, both those pillars would be undermined, and the whole fabric of the constitution endangered, if not overthrown. I have already in this work pointed out many of the dangers to which such a measure would expose us, I will examine it more closely. The descendants of the British colonists settled in Ireland, composing not quite a third of the population, but possessing nine-tenths of the lands of this kingdom, are connected with Britain by consanguinity, by a similarity of laws, customs, manners, language and religion, by mutual interests and mutual (on the part of the colonists more than mutual) dependency—all these are cemented and strengthened by the identity of the crown, and allegiance to a common sovereign. The barbarous Irish natives had always considered the first English settlers with jealousy and dislike, and for a considerable time maintained a savage independence. At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, above four hundred years after the first settlement, we find the dominion of the English little more than nominal.—The Reformation in England formed a new obstacle to the tranquillity of the country. The old opposition of
manners,

manners, laws, and interests, was not inflamed by religious antipathy. The Irish stupidly and ignorantly attached to the Romish superstition, joined in a general insurrection against the English power. After much trouble and bloodshed, they were completely subdued. The wisest measures followed the putting down of this rebellion. Protestant colonies from England and Scotland were planted in the forfeited lands, which served at the same time to secure the English power, to improve the country, and to give to the natives an example of civilization and industry. Forty years of peace and harmony produced the best effects as to improvement and civilization.

The old distinctions seemed to be wearing away—but the calm was deceitful—religious animosity lay festering in their minds, and an opportunity offering from the disturbed state of England, in 1641, the Irish Catholics rose at once, and massacred all the Protestants they could come at, to the number of above 40,000.* It is remarkable, that several of the old English settlers, still attached to the Popish religion, joined the Irish, and at least equalled their atrocities during this massacre; forty-seven years of vicissitudes, disturbance, and forfeiture, were next succeeded by the rebellion of 1688, also springing out of an inviolable attachment to Popery; its consequences were the code of penal laws, and fresh forfeitures. The discontents of the Irish from that period to the present, have been displayed by a succession of petty insurrections, under different forms and pretexts, but all of religious aspect.

The

* At this period, the Irish did not labour under the privation of any civil privileges—restrictions on Catholics did not exist until after the Revolution in 1688. So that the massacre in 1641, is solely ascribable to religious fury. This circumstance duly considered and kept in mind, will give additional force to many pages of this work.

The repeal of the penal code, in 1793, had not the desired effect of conciliation. We find in the atrocities of 1798, a revival of 1641. This melancholy detail forcibly shews the rooted aversion of the Irish Catholics to British connexion. A sense of their own interests must in time have reconciled them to England, had they not been estranged by the more potent influence of religious hatred. Nor have late events evinced any diminution of its rancour. As to the security given to the church establishment, by the balance of property in the hands of Protestants, it certainly, as it now stands, is considerable and important; but it is not a security permanent, or independent; it requires aids to its existence and effect. In a commercial and rising country like this, property is always shifting, and in the course of time, the balance of property, as well as numbers, may be found in the hands of Catholics. Should things remain as they now are, the time necessary to produce such a change, would probably remove all danger to be apprehended from it. The repeal of the few Catholic disqualifications, would, in my opinion, much and prematurely hasten such a revolution in property. Various consequent causes would combine to effect this. The Catholics possess a considerable part of the floating capital of this kingdom; ambition and other motives would induce them to lay out that capital in the purchase of lands—nor would opportunities be wanting. I am confident that many Protestants would, on such an event, sell their properties in Ireland and remove to England. There are several families, particularly in the West and South of Ireland, holding considerable landed property, whose ancestors were Catholics, but the descendants have from motives of convenience and interest, nominally conformed to the established religion; with many of these, the cause being removed,

ed; the effect would cease; they would return to the bosom of the Catholic church, and thus bring at once a considerable weight into the scale of Catholic property; * the high lucrative situations which would be opened to them, would also have some effect as to property, but much more as to power. By all these means, a predominancy might be obtained by the Catholics in the legislative bodies, particularly in the commons house, and thus all other safeguards being given up, the Protestant establishment would rest solely on the support of a Protestant King: a difference of views and sentiments on the momentous point of religion, would necessarily embroil that king with his parliament. Discord among the component parts of government, would unhinge the state, produce civil war, and oblige us again to establish our ascendancy by arms. Those who may conceive this reasoning strained, and the picture overcharged, must deduct considerably from my estimate of Catholic zeal, and give a much ampler credit than I am inclined to do, to Catholic tolerance and moderation.

Under these circumstances, I do conceive that claims of the Catholics to further privileges are inadmissible, and that the safety of the church establishment, and the connexion with Britain, depend on the Protestant ascendancy, consisting of a Protestant House of Lords, and a Protestant House of Commons, a Protestant King, aided by a Protestant Council, and exercising the judicial and higher executive functions, by Protestant judges and ministers, who are in their respective departments the representatives

* It is not unusual in some parts of this kingdom, that the priest should be seen quitting the house of the squire and the magistrate, on a Sunday, by the back door, after officiating to his family, whilst the owner of the mansion approached the front door, on his return from the Protestant church, where he attended pro forma.

tatives and deputies of Majesty—after his discussion of the principle, the remainder of what I have quoted, as advanced by your Catholic claimant, need not be combated by argument, but may deserve some remarks—He says, "*That he does not desire the aggrandizement of his fellow-religionists as a body; but that there should be no obstacle in the way of individuals, &c. &c.*" I think my detail of the character and principles of the Romish Church and its votaries, shews it to be impossible that Catholics could sit down contented with civil and personal advantages alone, neglecting the advancement of their clergy, and the aggrandizement of their religion. There seems to me to be much of sophistry in the manner in which this position is brought forward; Mr. McKenna ingeniously endeavours to point our attention to the claims of abstracted individuals, and to make us forget the great body of which they are members. This mode of considering things, if carried far enough, would certainly go to the levelling of all distinctions. Such a theory would set up mere natural rights on the ruins of all municipal provisions, and at once destroy the essence as well as necessity of civil government—I am sure the great body of the Catholics could not have been brought to act as they have done, and exert themselves so strenuously for an extension of privileges, which at best could only comprehend some few persons, if they had not entertained views beyond the aggrandizement of individuals.—I have always considered Catholic emancipation, as it was termed, either as a pretext to cloak sedition, or as meaning something not expressed by its usual definition, and I have been confirmed in this opinion, by observing that the class of Catholics, on whom the advantages of the required privileges would exclusively devolve, have always appeared to be the least forward in their endeavours to attain them.—

This

This object could never have been so violently and perseveringly pursued by claimants, apparently so little interested, if the energetic Romanists, who have so lately guided the Catholic body, had not pointed out consequences leading to more general advantages. The zeal with which multitudes devoted themselves to the cause, can only be imputed to religious enthusiasm. The rebellion resembled more a crusade, than a struggle for civil privileges; extirpation and not participation seemed to be its object.

For these reasons, I cannot believe that the "*Catholic claimant*" merely seeks to remove civil disqualification from individuals, without desiring the aggrandizement of his "*fellow-religionists*" as a body. In your 30th page you say, "*So far as my observation extends, the reflecting Catholics of this country never entertained a wish to give an establishment to their clergy.*" Were I to take this sentence according to its literal meaning, I should be obliged to declare a doubt, as to the sincerity of your declaration. But fortunately a recollection and comparison of circumstances rescues me from that necessity, and enables me to reconcile my belief, by applying a more liberal construction. By the words "*reflecting Catholics*," I must suppose you mean philosophers of the new school—illuminated Painites—I am helped to this construction, and induced to adopt by what fell from Doctor M'Nevin, "*a reflecting Catholic*," on his examination before the secret committee, he said, that Catholic emancipation was a mere pretext, and that he would as soon think of a Mahometan as of a Catholic establishment. Had the leading conspirators openly avowed such a sentiment, the ranks of rebellion could never have been filled.

The poetic picture * presented in the note to your 31st page, is certainly more to be remarked for the

* The stanza quoted by Mr. M'Kenna runs thus :

" See their clergy march before them,
 " With their sacred vestments o'er them,
 " Sprinkling them with holy water,
 " And calling on to blood and slaughter."

exactness and truth of its delineation, as an historic piece, than for the pleasing choice of the subject, or the delicacy of the colouring. Some things, and persons, when faithfully represented, become disgusting, and may be mistaken for caricatures.

Your 22d page goes to tell us, "*That Catholics are men constituted as we are, and that forbearance under any restrictions, is not to be expected from them.*" This argument comes red hot from the school of the new philosophy and the rights of man. You launch boldly into innovation, forgetting all the former ties, rules, and restrictions of every civilized country in Europe. Pray, Sir, in what Catholic state of Europe, does a Protestant enjoy half the privileges which a Catholic now enjoys in the Protestant state of Ireland? Certainly in none. Or in what Protestant state of Europe does a Catholic enjoy so many immunities as in Ireland?—And where, I may add, have concessions met with so ungrateful a return?

We may clearly infer from your 35th and 36th pages, that the Catholics on the event of an Union, lay the same claim to admission into the Imperial, as they now do into the Irish legislature; and in the advancement of such their claims, you, without hesitation, get over all difficulties, by bold and unqualified assertions, unsupported by argument, and in contradiction to principles long established. "*You deny that any new parliamentary test oath should be framed to admit the jurisdiction of the Pope.*" And you as lightly get over the omission of the oath of supremacy, such an oath being totally unnecessary. "*As the jurisdiction of the Pope is as clearly ascertained as the jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench, and would not be let in on temporal points, by omitting the oaths which assert the King's ecclesiastical supremacy,*" &c. This is a most extraordinary assertion, and is contradicted by experience and history, which shews, that in all countries, and during all ages,
Popery

Popery has never failed, wherever it got footing, to intermeddle with, and embroil every thing temporal as well as spiritual, on one pretence or other; and the history of England, in particular, proves this in the strongest manner, even to the dethronement of her Kings. How can any man presume to say, that the Popish jurisdiction is as well ascertained as that of the Court of King's Bench, when every one knows that it requires but little sophistry to implicate almost all temporal with spiritual concerns, as ultimately, directly or indirectly, involving the spiritual salvation of the actors, and who is to be the judge of this spiritual salvation and temporal discrimination? That very church, whose interest and character it is to draw every thing within the vortex of its own dominion, and to use every handle and pretext for interference and domination. The Romish clergy may squabble among themselves*, but should any laymen or lay body interfere, the whole hive, forgetting their internal disputes, would fasten on them and sting them to death. But could even the inexpediency and impolicy of such concessions, as affecting the Protestant interest, be palliated or got over, the impracticability remains, and must remain for ever, unsurmountable and unalterable, at least so long as Popery and the British constitution shall continue. I do maintain that a Catholic cannot be admitted into the Irish or English legislative bodies, but by a violation of the constitution, as established

* Mr. M'Kenna in his 36th page says, "The supremacy of the Pope is practically reverential; and if they are left to themselves, no persons are more inclined than his clergy to cavil against and restrict it." I must deny the position, "that the supremacy of the Pope is practically reverential;" on the contrary, I always have conceived, that originally and theoretically, it was more reverential than powerful, but by the address and intrigues of the Romish clergy, the Popedom has become in itself and its agents, practically absolute and tyrannical.—History every where evinces this.

blished in 1688, in its very essence and foundation, and by a breach of the King's coronation oath, and also of the fundamental conditions of the Union between Scotland and England — * Is it possible that a King of Great Britain could be so blind to the danger to which he would expose the constitution he had sworn to protect, as to assent to such an innovation, not calling it by a stronger name? Or could he conscientiously think, that he acted according to the obligation of his coronation oath, by knowingly and deliberately exposing the Protestant establishment to the risk of so desperate an experiment? religious establishment is not the religion itself, but merely the mode of preserving it, and that can only be effected by a political connexion of the religious with the civil establishment, and this forms what is called the constitution in church and state. I do again assert, that such our constitution cannot admit to its legislative, or higher executive functions, any man or body of men, who deny and violate one of its vital and fundamental principles, by cherishing a foreign supremacy, and paying an implicit obedience to it, either by spiritual or temporals. And I do contend, that this fundamental principle of the British constitution, has been established on the surest and most unerring grounds, namely, the conviction of the many evils attending foreign spiritual interference, derived and deduced from the experience of many centuries. Were we now to separate church and state, we would virtually declare, that the reformation

* By these conditions, the acts of uniformity, as they then stood, are declared perpetual, as also all other acts then in force for the preservation of the church of England, and it is stipulated, that every subsequent King or Queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same, within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick on Tweed: and it is enacted, that this act (and the act for the perpetual establishment and maintainance of the church of Scotland) shall forever be observed, as fundamental, and essential conditions of the Union,

mation and revolution were founded on bad policy, and false principles, and that the settlement of the Crown, by stat. 12th and 13th W. 3d. c. 2. was an illegal usurpation. I hope and trust that no minister will ever be found hardy enough to bring forward such a question in a Protestant parliament, or so daring as to advise a King of Great Britain to give his consent to the annihilation of the title by which he holds his Crown*.

To enter into a full historical and legal discussion of these questions, would far exceed my limits. Let me ask Mr. M'Kenna and the Catholics, on what grounds they expect all these experiments and sacrifices in their favour? Is it because they have so well requited us for past benefits? Do they advance their claims on the score of their loyalty to their King, or their brotherly love and charity † to their Protestant fellow-subjects? Or do they come forward smeared with the blood of the Kildare, Carlow, Mayo and Wexford Protestants, and brandishing their pikes to terrify us into concession. I cannot help saying, that there is a hardened and indecent assurance in the time and form of their demands. What the heart of man could scarcely imagine, in the most peaceful and praiseworthy times, is now ushered in with unblushing impudence, at the heels of rebellion and massacre. For shame! you ought to have sat down rebuked, chastened, and grateful, for the magnanimous moderation of your victors. Instead of new favours and concessions, it might have been expected, at the eve of the late atrocious rebellion, that all former

* The Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, is held by a tenure strictly Protestant, as are almost all the lands of Ireland.

† In several parts of Ireland, a beggar, who cannot speak Irish, is driven from the doors of the Catholics without assistance; they consider him as a *Sassano*, which word they use to express both Protestant and teller.

met ones, should have been revoked and rescinded, and that the Popish superstition should have been at once rooted from the land, by the banishment of its priests and the forbiddance of the mass, as incompatible with true christian charity, morality, and a just observance of the laws of society in a Protestant state. Could such an event take place without personal cruelty, bloodshed, or civil disturbance? I do not hesitate to say, that the Catholics of Ireland would ultimately be greater gainers by the change than even the Protestants*.

I will conclude by warning the government against a practice which has been too common among the parties of this country, namely, that of treating and parleying with the Catholics, as a political body, and making stalking-horses of them and their claims, for the purpose of mutual embarrassment and vexation. This weak and wicked policy feeds, and has fed unjustifiable pretensions. This has been a sort of game; but "*ba nuga seria ducant in mala.*" It is not wise to seek hollow, unreal, and fugitive connexions, in pursuance of a system of Machiavelian policy, thereby disgusting and detaching those whom reciprocity, congenial interests, and common sense, indicate as the true friends of a good government, the friends and supporters of the Throne, the Constitution and the Laws.—May they be perpetual.

An ORANGEMAN.

Dublin,

January 14, 1799.

POSTSCRIPT.

* I do not mention this as merely theoretical. The Reformation was accomplished by an absolute monarch, for such we must term Henry the VIIIth. Are not the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland vested with absolute power (which every state must lodge somewhere) to as great an extent as Henry possibly could be?

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE writing the foregoing letter, I have read a pamphlet on the question of an Union, wherein Catholics and Orangemen are introduced. Had I sooner seen this production, I should have given it some notice in the body of my work; but I must now confine myself to such few remarks, as time, and the limits of a short Postscript will admit.

The pamphlet I allude to, is entitled, "*An impartial view of the causes leading this country to the necessity of an Union,*" &c. &c. &c. and is publicly ascribed to a gentleman, whose name, though mutilated of its barbarous O, is still sufficiently indicative of Aboriginism and Catholicism. This circumstance may strike many as not favouring the promise of impartiality, avowed in the title page*, but let us examine how this promise has been kept. This gentleman gives us an history, or historic sketch of English and Irish relation, from the Reformation to the present time; if that can be called an

F history,

* The motto chosen by the Author of "*An Impartial View,*" seems to be intended as a further earnest of impartiality.

"*Nullius addictus, Jurare in verba magistri.*"

"*Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deseror hospes.*"

Let me construe it.

Having formerly deserted the Catholic church, I now belong to no other sect; I am a citizen of the world, free as to my tenets and opinions.

history, which details the injustice, oppression, and tyranny of the English over the unfortunate natives, without fairly stating the circumstances and necessity which obliged England to maintain, by strong and coercive measures, her dominion over a savage and hostile nation, which had always displayed an inveterate dislike to the English, their laws, manners, and customs, and which had renewed, whetted, and increased all its ancient antipathies, by superadded hatred and aversion to the religion then newly introduced among them, and by an obstinate adherence to the Popish superstition. This gentleman seems to get, that since England has had sufficient respite from her own evils and disturbances, to attend to the settlement of Ireland, that all her endeavours, and those of the Protestant colonists, have been counteracted, baffled, and checked by the growth and influence of Popery, which has been the real obstacle to the peace and prosperity of their country. So much for historic impartiality*.

This O gentleman, dates the Orange institution so far back as the year 1793†. He says it was founded by some of the factious and disappointed aristocracy—and that it produced the late rebellion. I do most positively deny the truth of every one of these statements. I have in this work already shewn, that the first Orange society was instituted on the 21st day of September, 1795, but Orange societies

* The "Impartial View," gives a most lame and distorted account of the creation of boroughs in Ireland—and from such, his misrepresentation, he draws several deductions necessarily false.—For a true account of the creation of boroughs, I refer to Dr. Duigenan's answer to Grattan, from page 153 to page 168—the reputation of this work, both in England and Ireland, sets it far above my feeble praise.

† As a further answer to this, see the note to the 17th line of the 7th page, in the former part of this pamphlet.

ties never became so general, as to be worthy of political consideration, until the year 1797, (the real date of the Orange institution) when they were transplanted to Dublin, and when the rebellion, which he says they produced, was arrayed, and had even appointed a day for rushing into action. He has attempted to prove this charge against the Orangemen, by saying, that the Catholics only rebelled in counties where they were *intimidated* into rebellion by Orangemen. I will ask him, were there Orange societies to intimidate the Catholics of Mayo * and Wexford into rebellion and massacre? Were there Orangemen to any intimidating amount in Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, and Kilkenny? But this gentleman, by way of clinching his proof with triumphant exultation, quotes and rests upon the counties of Limerick, Clare and Galway, as patterns and examples of Catholic loyalty. Unfortunately, his exultation has been short-lived indeed—his ink has had scarce time to dry on the paper, ere his proofs and their loyalty have vanished, and the standard of rebellion has been seen to float over the face of those *peaceable* countries†.

F 2
In
At Castlebar, in the county Mayo, Dr. Crump, a Popish physician, and a man of education, attended by a large body of Catholics, waited on General Humbert, who received them standing at the open window of his lodgings—Crump, the spokesman of the body, petitioned the General to allow them one hour's revenge against the Protestants for one hundred years of oppression, and signified his intentions of enclosing all the Protestants within the church, and there burn them.—Humbert humanely refused to permit or sanction such savage atrocity.

† This impartial Gentleman asserts (speaking of the late rebellion) "*that nobody believes that it was a Catholic war.*" I do believe that it was a Catholic war—the Protestants of Ireland generally do believe that it was a Catholic war.—The Secret Committee of the British House of Commons has considered it as a Catholic war.—Speaking of the United Irishmen, their report states,

In contradiction to his assertion, that the Orange institution has grown out of factions and disappointed aristocracy—I do say, that there never yet has been any political institution, so completely independent, so purely disinterested, so single in its object *, and so free from factious and aristocratic influence, as the Orange association; I am an Orangeman, I know that it must be so—no man can become an Orangeman from impure motives, without perjury. As to this gentleman's statement of Catholics lawfully prosecuting lawful claims of Catholic firmness, steady attachment to the Constitution, and loyalty, I will only observe, that such a fiction would better become a poet than an historian. I cannot help adding, that it is remarkable how seldom apostacy from Popery, extinguishes hereditary affection to the cause.

I do also deny, that the oaths taken by United Irishmen and Orangemen are equally unlawful, under the construction of the statutes—as the matters to which Orangemen are bound, form no part of the gravamen, against which those laws provide, nor could have been in the contemplation of the Legislature, whose only object was to guard against and suppress seditious conspiracies then existing. The comprehensive penning of the statute of 37th of G. 3d. was occasioned by the dexterity shewn by

by states, “*That they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France, with the express view of co-operating for the expulsion of the Protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic government.*”—For this extract I refer to the report itself as published. As a further proof, see Appendix No. 5.

† The Orange association cannot be called generally a political institution, it can only consider one political question, and that merely on the defensive, viz. the preservation of the Protestant establishment. As a proof of this, see Appendix No. 6. If ever there could be deviation from this principle of the Orange institution, I think it must have appeared on the momentous agitation of the question of Union.

by the conspirators including the former statute— which clearly appears by collating the two acts. Wherefore I conceive, that a judge of the land, before whom any man should be tried for taking the Orangeman's oath, would leave it to the jury to determine, not only as to the fact of his having taken such oath, but also as to the tendency thereof, and the *quo animo* of the swearing—all which ingredients are necessary to constitute crime. I believe no jury could be found hardy enough, to bring in a verdict of conviction against any man, on the ground of the Orangeman's oath, which goes solely to the support of the King and our glorious Constitution, and that in the most direct terms—and thus, if I am right, this appeal to the twelve Judges, proves to be a solemn and pompous nullity—if conviction took place, the Judge must pronounce the sentence of the law; but I conceive that such a conviction could not happen, except, indeed, from a packed jury of United Irishmen, and even they might be deterred by the dread of an attainder.

This
 I do assert that the statute of 37th of G. 3d. against brotherhoods or societies bound together by oaths, comprehends the society of Free Masons, and that of the friendly brothers of St. Patrick, just as much and as far as it comprehends the Orange society, and I do defy any lawyer in the land to refute this assertion—would any tribunal of this kingdom convict a Free Mason or a Friendly Brother under that statute, nor could they with more justice convict an Orangeman.—Were not the members of the Legislature, who belonged to the masonic and friendly societies, as much, and as far, guilty of a breach of their own law, as those who belonged to the Orange society? I defy any man to say that they were not—but the Catholic spirit of this impartial gentleman passes them by, and fastens on the Orangeman.—Nor is it the first time that the zeal of Catholicism has urged this gentleman to a display of his rancour against the Orange system.—At a meeting of the learned profession to which he belongs, held in William-street 'Exhibition'-room, for the express purpose of discussing the question

—This gentleman ought to have been more cautious, and have chosen sure grounds, before he ventured to prefer so serious an accusation against Legislators, whom he has presumed to represent as publicly administering oaths, in direct violation of a statute made by themselves; and for the breach of which, they were publicly co-operating “*in hanging and whipping wretches*”—and this crude opinion he publishes and proclaims to the people of this agitated country, and tells them, that it causes a dissolution of all government. I do suppose that party zeal against the Orangemen, blinded him to all the consequences of such a publication, which even truth could not excuse or justify, under the present circumstances. The Press, in its zenith of licentious audacity, never vomited forth a more dangerous or deadly political poison.

Were I not confined in time and limits, I should animadvert on other parts of this pamphlet, which, notwithstanding its partialities and misrepresentations, on the points I have noticed, its affectation of intimate acquaintance with Cabinets, and its familiar exposition of public and leading characters, certainly shews considerable ingenuity, wit, and satire, and contains many forcible arguments in favour of an Union, conveyed in a pleasing, familiar, and impressive style.

Dublin,

January 22, 1792

APPENDIX.

question of Union, he indulged himself in an acrimonious reviling of the “*Orange Faction*,” as he called it.—On such an occasion, it might have been expected, that the *Orange* would have escaped unnoticed and unmolested; but this furious sachem could not lose any opportunity of vomiting forth his green and yellow bile.

APPENDIX, No. I.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the Laws,

We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of ORANGE MEN, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honor and our loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to avow those principles, and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of *United Irishmen*.

We have seen with pain, the lower orders of our fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of *traitors*.

And, we have viewed with horror, the successful
boisterous exertions

exertions of *miscreants*, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to maintain the Laws, and support our good King against all his enemies, whether *rebels* to their God or to their Country, and by so doing, shew to the world that there is a body of men in this island, who are ready in the hour of danger, to stand forward in defence of that Grand Palladium of our liberties; the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our brave ancestors, under the Great King WILLIAM.

Fellow-subjects, we are accused of being an *Association* founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by malevolent falsehoods, for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinion, never entered our hearts: we regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged—and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 2.

At a Meeting of the MASTERS of the following Orange Lodges of this City, held at Harrington's, September 10th, 1798.

Nos. 176, 439, 473, 474, 505, 507, 532, 533, 538.

Rev. T. F. KNIPE, in the Chair.

Resolved that the 5th Rule of our Association be now read, (and the same being read, viz.)

“ V. That no person do persecute or upbraid
“ any one on account of his Religious opinions,
“ but that we will, on the contrary, be aiding and
“ assisting to every loyal subject of every Religious
“ Description.”

Resolved, That a Committee of Nine be appointed to conduct a subscription on behalf of the brave fellows who have been wounded, and the widows and orphans of those gallant men who have fallen gloriously fighting for their King and Constitution, in the late actions with the French and Rebel armies in the counties of Sligo and Leitrim.

Resolved, That the said Committee be empowered to extend the benefit of this subscription to all brave fellows who have been wounded, and to the widows and orphans of all those who have fallen during the late Invasion, and whose conduct shall be certified by their officers, as deserving the notice of the Committee.

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The

The following Gentlemen were appointed to the said Committee :

John Claudius Beresford, Esq.
Rev. T. F. Knipe,
Alderman James,
Sir John Macartney,
Alderman Crothers,
Isaac Dejoncourt, Esq.
William Gamble Galway, Esq.
Arthur Dunn, Esq. and
Humphry A. Woodward, Esq.

Resolved, That the said Committee do meet at Harrington's on Thursday next, at One o'Clock, and from Time to Time as may be necessary.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

HARDING GIFFARD, Secretary.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

An Excommunication pronounced by the Popish Clergy against a Papist for conforming to the Protestant Religion.

By the Authority of God the Father Almighty, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the holy Saints.



We Excommunicate, we utterly curse, damn, commit, and deliver to the Devil in Hell, Francis Freeman, late of the city of Dublin, but now of Tucksmill in the Co. of Wicklow, who has (in spight of our God, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the holy Saints, and in spight of our holy Father the Pope, God's Vicar here on Earth, and spight of our Rev. Father our Diocesan, and the worshipful Canons, who serve God daily) apostated to a most damnable

damnable Religion, full of Herefy and Blasphemy.
 —Excommunicated let him be, and delivered over to the Devil of Hell, as a perpetual malefactor and schismatic—accursed may he be, in cities, and all towns, in fields and in ways, in yards, and in houses, and in all other places, whether lying or rising, waking or sleeping, eating or drinking, or what else thing he does besides. We separate him from the fold, and all the good prayers of the Church, and from the participation of the holy Jesus, from the Sacraments, Chapels, and Altars, from holy bread and holy water; and from all the merits of God's holy Priests, and religious men, from all our Cloysters, from all pardons and privileges of right and immunities, which all the holy Fathers have, and the Pope of Rome hath given him—and we give him over absolutely to the power of the fiend, and let him quench his soul [when dead] in flames of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out by us (here a candle is put out) and let us pray God, our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, that his eyes may be put out in this world as this [here a second candle is put out] let us pray God, that all the senses of his his body may fail him, as the light of this candle doth [here a third candle is put out] unless he comes at sight hereof, and openly confess his damnable herefy and blasphemy, and by repentance as much as in him lies, make satisfaction to God, our Lady, St. Peter and St. Paul, and the worshipful company of this church, and as the holy shaft of this holy cross now falls down, so may he, except he recants and repents.

Signed,

PHILIP DUNN, Bishop.
 BRYAN MOORE, Regt.

July 18th, 1733.

G 2

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 4.

The following Articles of Popish Faith, were found in the pocket of priest Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow, and also found on the persons, and in the possession of several other priests and Catholics, in different parts of the kingdom who were taken or killed during the Rebellion.

1st. **W**HEN we assemble we cross ourselves, saying, " We acknowledge these our articles in the presence of Christ's Vicar, our Lord God the Pope, and in the presence of the holy Primates, Bishops, Monks, Friars, and Priests."

2d. We acknowledge they can make *vice* virtue, and *virtue* vice, according to their pleasure. Falling flat on their faces, they proceed in this manner speaking to the Host, and saying " holy, glorious, and admirable Host, we acknowledge it according to our good Father the Pope; we must all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty."

3d. We acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy Father the Lord God the Pope, and that he is Peter's successor in the chair.

4th. We acknowledge that Peter has the keys of Heaven, and that he will receive those only who acknowledge his supremacy.

5th. We are bound to believe there can be no salvation out of our holy church.

6th. We are bound to believe, that the late holy massacre was lawful, and justly put into execution against Protestants, and that we should continue the same as long as we can do it with safety to ourselves.

7th. We are bound to curse, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times in each year on Heretics.

8th.

8th. We are bound to believe that Heretics can never be saved, unless they partake of that holy sacrament, Extreme Unction.

9th. We are bound to believe, that those who elope from our holy religion, are under the power of the Devil, whom Heretics follow.

10th. No faith is to be kept with Heretics, tho' bound by the most sacred oaths; for says our holy Father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.

11th. We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.

12th. We are bound to drive Heretics out of the land with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion, as our holy Father says, if their heresy prevails we are still to become their slaves. Oh! dear Father, keep us from that. [Here the holy water is shaken, and they say the Hail Mary three times.]

13th. We are bound to absolve without any reward, all those who embrue their hands in the blood of Heretics.

14th. We are bound to believe that Christ's Vicar, our Lord God the Pope, can absolve all men, Heretics excepted, and has given the like power to all his inferior clergy.

15th. We are bound to believe all the articles commanded by our holy Church.

16th. We are bound to believe the Virgin Mary has more honor in Heaven than any of the Angels.

17th. We are bound to pray to the Holy Angels, that they may pray for us.

18th. We are bound to believe in the holy cross, holy water, holy spittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be used on certain occasions.

19th. We are bound to celebrate the holy mass in Latin, having ourselves cloathed in a holy vestment

ment and shirt, bearing the holy cross on our shoulders, signifying we are the very Christ.

20th. We are bound to believe every time mass is celebrated, there is an expiatory from the living and the dead.

21st. We are bound to believe there are four places of Purgatory, viz. Limbus Infantum, Limbus Patrum, Meadows of Ease, and Purgatory.

22d. We are bound to believe that Christ was three days in Limbus Infantum, where the souls of holy Fathers go, till they get a pass with them to the holy Peter.

23d. We are bound to believe that the souls of children unbaptized, go to the Limbus Infantum, until original sin is well paid away, by the help of holy masses said to them.

24th. We acknowledge the souls of Christians go to Purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have the power to walk the Meadows of Ease with safety, till it pleases holy Peter to open the gates of glory for them, which no Heretic shall ever enter.

25th. We are bound to keep Lent according to our clergy's pleasure, and to maintain the work of supererogation:

26th. We are bound to acknowledge the Lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Darragh.

27th. We are bound to pray to no other Saint on the day only them to whom it is dedicated.

28th. We must baptize bells, and consecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a priest, only he who is known to be a man after the harlot Joan.

29th. We maintain seven sacraments essential to salvation, viz. Baptism, Ucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction,

Unction, Holy Orders, Confirmation and Matrimony.

30th. We maintain we can transubstantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ.

31st. We believe that Heretics eat their kind of sacrament to their eternal damnation.

32d. We believe that Christ is every where, but especially in our Church.

33d. We maintain we cannot know any thing without being in danger of judgment.

34th. We maintain that Heretics have neither the will of the Prophets nor of Christ.

35th. We acknowledge that the Rosary of Saint Bridget is to be said once a week; and lastly, that our holy church can never err.

Roach and Murphy said mass four times on their march from Gorey.

APPENDIX, No. 5.

The two documents No. 5, are published to shew that the Catholics who become members of the societies of United Irishmen, from the first denomination of those societies throughout the kingdom, down to the actual insurrection, were all influenced by religious motives, and that even good policy could not smother their religious hatred. The union was materially injured by the apprehensions and consequent desertion of many Protestants (particularly Dissenters) who took alarm at the religious aspect which the conspiracy assumed from time to time. All their fears on this head have been fully verified by the events of the rebellion. In the first document, dated 1793, "*Hating the Romans*" is

is a crime for which Chaloner is to be tried for his life, by one of the committee. In that of December 1798, the cause is pronounced to be "*Holy*" and the protection of the God that makes them free, is peculiarly promised to a particular description, "*my and our friends*". This last seems to be artfully worded, so as to avoid an explicit declaration for fear of alarming the few protestants, who may have been mad or stupid enough still to adhere to the union.

A. D. 1793.

For Thady Barnes, Esq. near Kells.

THE schret committy tried you and others cowardly Barnes, you die, and all your caushen wont safe you. Bluddy Jackson was tried by the committy of public safety, he dies and his head cut off.

Butler * is gone, he was condemned on Thursday, died Fridy. Bluddy Jackson sold our bludd King, his budder dies.

Signed,

The goft at Tucker's, that's the watch word, Black Chaloner *is not tried yet, he bates the "Romans."*

The above is a copy of the paper sent to Mr. Barnes, exactly as to spelling and wording.

APPENDIX. No. 6.

Dec. the 15th, 1798.

YOU are hereby ordered to take notice that we

* Chaplain to the Bishop of Meath, assassinated at the Bishop's-gate.

we the 2d company of North Rangers do send this notice to all our friends.

GREETING.

We do now remind you of the appointed time being at hand, or drawing nigh, when Irish valour must be displayed here, as well as in our sister country.

YOU all know your joint engagements—Behave like men, determined to die or be free; we have strength sufficient, numbers flocking each day to our "*Holy cause*." Thousands waiting a movement, and then ready to join us; think not of death; should you or me [happily] we may say, justly perish in this cause, our family, [I speak to all my and our friends] our families, I say, shall never want, for the God that makes us free, will do for them.

Health and Fraternity.

N. B. I have so short a time on hands, that I just wrote these few lines in our cash-book, I leave it with a friend, to be seen of him. [E. Mc. G.] I ordered him to copy some of them for others. We shall have a happy new year, which we will call the second of the Irish Republic.

Copied from a letter found on a man taken up by Sir John Blacker.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND.

January 5, 1799.

THE GRAND LODGE of IRELAND observe,
with heartfelt satisfaction, that their former recom-
H mendment

mendation to their Brethren, to abstain as Orange-men, from any discussion of the question of Union, has had the happiest effects, inasmuch as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies of Religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord amongst Orange-men. They now feel it their duty to offer some further observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orange-men in different capacities, as Members of Parliament, Grand Jurors, Freeholders, and Members of Corporate Bodies, will have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union: but it is the earnest entreaty of the Grand Lodge, that, as a Society, they will continue silent: for, as every Orange-man, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, from local circumstances, conceive different ideas on this subject, the discussion of a question of such magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage, and local disadvantage, must unavoidably create a division in opinion—and “an house divided against itself cannot stand.” It is, therefore, recommended to all Orange-men, to keep in mind the great object, for which they have associated; and to avoid, as injurious to their institution, all controversy upon subjects not connected with their principles.

The Grand' Lodge most solemnly enjoin the Masters of Lodges, and their Brethren in general, most particularly to scrutinize the character of every Candidate for admission; as they understand, with indignation, that men, notoriously disaffected, have of late had the audacity to offer themselves to some Lodges. It is also requested, that Masters of Lodges will discountenance, by every means in their power, even by the imposition of a fine, any imitation

imitation of the manners and dress of Traitors, which the Grand Lodge have heard with surprise has been of late affected by some of the younger Orange-men. They are the more anxious on this head, which may at first seem unimportant, as Traitors are now busy in boasting of a coalition with our association ; an opinion which this conduct in known Orange-men tends greatly to encourage.

The Grand Lodge further recommends, that this Address be read at all the Lodges in Ireland.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Master.

JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Secretary.

F I N I S.

Address be read at the Lodge in Lebanon. The Grand Lodge further recommends that this in known Orange-mass lodge try its influence in favor of association; an opinion which was adopted with our association. Tutors are now busy in looking out a position for which they may at first seem unprepared as Grand masters. There are the more warrants on the has been affected by some of the younger which the Grand Lodge have heard and which mitigation of the in mass and the Lodge.

THOMAS VESPER, Grand Master.

JOHN C. BERLESON, Editor

